

I will go over the earth lifting up my voice for Liberty. We do not quit in vain. This Society toils not in vain. Hundreds have been warned by your garments, and sped on their way to freedom. When we separate, our toil shall not cease. We have drawn the sword, and thrown away the scabbard, and are determined to fight on and ever. But we now go to the fields of toil; there remains but a word to be spoken, it is hard to reach it—the Convention is adjourned. Farewell! [Tremendous cheering.]

THE HALE DINNER.

The hall of the Fitchburg Depot was crowded on Thursday afternoon, 5th instant, with those who assembled to do honor to Hon. John P. Hale. Seats were provided at the tables for about 1400 persons, and all were filled, about one third of those present being ladies. At about quarter past two o'clock the guests took their places at the tables, Mr. Hale being conducted to an elevated position, amid applause and the music of the band. Hon. John G. Palfrey presided, assisted by numerous vice-presidents. Prayer was offered by Rev. A. L. Sprou of Park street church. The dinner was then discussed for about an hour with evident satisfaction. The President commenced the intellectual entertainment in a brief, but very eloquent speech of welcome.

The first regular toast was then given by the toast master of the occasion, Mr. F. H. UNDERWOOD of Cambridge, in a clear, full voice:

Our Guest, John P. Hale—in the House of Representatives, party could not command his allegiance in the commission of national iniquity. In the Senate, the insolence of majorities could never awe him to silence. As an advocate, he has added to the learning of the jurist the merit of successful resistance to executive and judicial tyranny. As the champion of the principles of the Free Democracy—

Our hearts leap forth to answer
And echo back his words,
As leaps the warrior when he sees
The flash of kindred words.

Mr. HALE was then announced, and was received with deafening applause and three hearty cheers. He responded to the toast in the following words:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—In the few weeks which have elapsed since I received your kind and generous invitation to meet you on this festival, I have sometimes endeavored to tax my thoughts, that I might do fitting honors to you with your forth the generous emotions of gratitude which your kindness has awakened in me; but I have been obliged to return from the bootless task and forego the effort, and I stand before you to-day determined to practice, at least, on this occasion, the precept of Christian morality, which inculcates to take no thought for the morrow, but let each day take care for itself, and I will endeavor to do so, my friends, at this festival of the heart, to bring you no other offering than that which the spontaneous action of the heart may suggest.

It seems to me that the first duty that we owe to ourselves, and to our common country—the first duty that we owe to the truth of history, and to the God to whom we owe our existence, is so far as we can, to disabuse the public mind of the grossest fallacy, and the most ridiculous falsehood ever palmed upon the people—and that falsehood is, that those acts, called the 'compromise acts,' grew out of real danger of a dissolution of this Union. My friends, I believe the impudence of brazen falsehood never went further, and I stand here, pleading whatever reputation may belong to me, in the assertion that I do not believe, at the very time that the Compromise was concocted in Congress, that any two of the most prominent men that were pushing it through, could have met me another in the streets of Washington, and asked, 'What do you think of the dissolution of this Union?' without bursting into a broad grin in each other's faces [laughter]; and I have never seen, in the whole of my experience in Washington, but one single public man who was willing to confess that he really believed there was any danger of a dissolution of the Union, and that man is one for whom I have the highest respect, and of whom I can speak only in terms of kindness. Let me mention, Cass, [laughter]. Gen. Cass says that he really believes the Union is in danger. I have no doubt of it—not the least. But the fact is, that the General's fears go further back than 1850. He has feared it ever since the Presidential election of 1848. I wish to do all credit to his honesty. I candidly believe that he is a man of great courage, and very firmly, and has done so a good while longer than some more modern converts. Was the Union really in danger? I believe there was. It was a Union of the Hunker politicians and the public crib. There was danger that that Union would be dissolved. I have no doubt it sent alarm and terror into many hearts.

But was the Union of the States in danger? Now, my friends, it so happens that history has a word to say on that subject. In 1848—and that is not a great while ago—we had just as much of a crisis as in 1850; but we had forgotten it. We had a great Compromise Committee in 1848, just as we had in 1850; and we had great men on it, John C. Calhoun, Clayton and some others; and they sat day and night, Sundays included, laboring to save the Union; and reported a Compromise bill. And what did they do? In that bill they abandoned the whole matter, and agreed to leave the question of slavery, as one of abstract law, to the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, the North was not content to have the whole question abandoned. I can only speak for one. I had the honor of voting against that Compromise. I did it for the very reason that I believed the interests of liberty were so transcendent above all other interests that it should not be left to the arbitrary adjudication of any tribunal. I allude to the Supreme Court of the United States, which had not confidence enough in the Supreme Court of the United States, to trust them with the consideration whether this priceless bond belonged to free men or not, therefore I voted against it. Well, the House of Representatives rejected it, and they went on and organized a territorial government for Oregon, and applied the anti-slavery ordinance of 1787 to it, prohibiting slavery over every inch of the territory. What did the Senate do? They gave way, as they always have, and I am afraid will for a great while longer. But the House stood up and rejected the Compromise. There were as loud threats of dissolution then as in 1850. But the North stood up, and what was the result? The bill became a law; and when the South found that it must become a law, what did it say?

'Why,' it said, 'you are going to exclude slavery from that territory. Say that it is because Oregon lies north of 36 deg. 30 min. and we will be content.' But the North said, 'We do no such thing. We exclude slavery because we believe it is not right. We believe it is repugnant to the laws of God and the rights of humanity; and therefore we exclude it. And we will assign no such reason as the South wishes us to give—and they did assign no such reason. Well, my friends, the House stood firm, and the bill came back to the Senate again, and again, with the old anti-slavery ordinance. And what did the Senate do? They did what they always do when the House stands up—they gave in, and the bill passed. [Cheers.] Then it went to the President. Who was the President? James K. Polk, a Southern slaveholder; and when he asked him to sign this bill, containing the ordinance of 1787, he said, 'All right, I will sign it;—I never will again.' [Laughter.] And so he signed it—the bill became a law, and the anti-slavery ordinance was applied to the whole territory.

What was the result of all this blustering, bravado, and all the threats of dissolution with which our ears were greeted during the months and months that the discussion was going on? It subsided so quick you could hardly tell there had been a shower. That same Congress passed another act, and that was the act to change the name of the schooner 'Two Polities' to 'Abigail.' That act produced just as much excitement in the country, as did the bill excluding slavery from Oregon. That bill went into quiet operation. [Laughter.] The schooner 'Two Polities,' from that day to this, has been called the 'Abigail,' and the anti-slavery ordinance has been in operation just so. There is the whole history of the contest. The battle was fought, the victory was won—the point was conceded, and it was conceded by both Houses of Congress and by the President, that Congress had a right and that it was the duty of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery within the territories, and to prohibit it; and there was no excitement about it. What had the North to do after that? Nothing—nothing but to stand still. What was the effect of it? We had other territo-

ries—the territories of California, Utah and New Mexico. Well, the people who inhabited these territories thought (and, O God, what a mistake!) that the North were in earnest, thought that they meant to stand up; and Southern men, from South Carolina and Mississippi, in the territory of California, began right speedily to conform themselves to what they believed was the settled policy of the country; and they anticipated Congress, and put the anti-slavery ordinance into their constitution. Do you suppose, if California were to frame a constitution to-day, she would put it in? No, my friends; we owe it to the persevering honesty of the representatives of the free States in the Congress of 1848, that the anti-slavery ordinance was adopted in the Constitution of California. [Cheers.]

Well, my friends, here we were, then, Congress had legislated for all the territory in which it proposed to organize a government, and put in the ordinance; and the people of California, anticipating the action of Congress, had put it themselves into their Constitution—and that was the time for Northern men to falter and go back! Oh! my friends, if we could but have stood a moment longer, it seemed as if the prayers of the wise and great, the patriots of all times, had been answered, and the people of California, filling his ear, until he had at last determined to bestow the blessing;—and when the hour had come that these prayers should be answered, beyond even our hopes, we had not faith to receive it! Then it was that the North began to cower and quail, and fall down and talk about the Union being in danger. But South men would have got up at that alarm, or attempted to make that cry again. Why, it had been uttered over and over again—it was not a respectable bugle to frighten children to bed with, until Northern states took it up and endorsed it, and gave it currency. And why did they give it currency?

That question I will not answer, because I cannot so impeach your common sense and discernment as to think it necessary for me to answer it. I leave it with you to answer. Why was it in that day when the battle had been fought, and the victory won, and the banner of opposition had been lowered—who was it that at that time he began to go back? My friends, an eminent Northern statesman has told us, 'There was no North.' I think if history ever gave confirmation to the truth of any assertion, the history of that day gave it to that declaration, that 'There was no North'; and I think if that same voice were to be heard again, to speak from the results of his experience, he would tell you that for recent statesmen, there was no North, there was no South either. [Cheers.]

You may be assured the hearts of this people are with us; the convictions of the great mass are with us; and, my friends, there is something else;—there are not only the hearts of the people and the convictions of the men, but there are the sentiments of the women—they are also with us. [Great applause.]

I had a striking illustration of the truth of this the other day. As I was coming to Massachusetts, there was an old hunker politician came and sat by me in the cars, with a smiling, pleasant face, and he began to speak of the time (save the mark!) when I should be President. [Laughter.] I smiled in his face with incredulity. 'Why,' he said, 'you must not be inquisitive, but the thing is making way where I did not expect it. I expected to hear of some new movement in some new country of the west. 'Why,' said he, 'the women have got hold of it.' [Loud laughter and applause.] When I go home and talk to my family, I have to confess five times as much anti-slavery as I do prudent for me to talk on 'Change and Chance.'

Now, friends, if we will just take place ourselves where we were in 1848, we shall have the people with us as we had then, and would have been with us now, if those who had been trusted but not tried had not failed in that hour. And we have many encouraging circumstances about us. We have many among our number, who have, in the person of my friend who sits next me, the eloquence of a CLAY, [immense applause] the clarion notes of whose eloquence were never prostituted to a compromise. [Cheers.] And on my right we have a representative—a noble son of a noble stock—that tells us that the patriotism, the judicial learning, and the integrity which adorned a JAY yet live in his descendant. [Loud applause.]

Now, my friends, one word more, and I will not trespass longer upon your patience. Politicians continually tell us, 'You can do nothing at all. Everything is settled. The annexation of Texas is settled, the compromise is settled, and it is all settled, and you can no longer do anything.' Let me pose, for the sake of argument, that it is all settled—what is our duty? Why, our duty is to have a settlement with the settlers. [Loud cheers and laughter.] If it is true that our rights have been bartered away, that the interests of liberty have been sold, and those that have betrayed their trust are in the enjoyment of the spoils of treachery, shall our mouths be shut, when we would call them to account, because they tell us the things are settled?

Some of my professional brethren are around me. Let me suppose some client goes to one of them, and entrusts a great matter to him, relying upon his integrity, his fidelity, his perseverance, and when he comes to the client, and tells him a successful issue. Instead of that, he sells his client's right, betrays his trust, puts the reward of treachery in his own pocket, and then, when the client comes to ask about it, he says, 'The thing cannot be disturbed any longer—it is settled!' Very well, my friends, what would you do? Would you not have a settlement with the man next? That is what we want. We want a settlement with the men who have settled this thing. We want to see what is the price at which they sold it. We want to see what is the consideration they have got. And by these means we can be enabled to judge of the merits of the settlers, and the integrity of the settlement; and until we have done that, we have but poorly discharged our duty.

My friends, I owe you no apology for claiming your attention so long. [Cries of 'Go on! Go on!'] No, my friends, I will not go on; but I will go off. [Laughter.] I find some around me that I come to hear, and I will no longer trespass upon your time. I will end as I began, and that is by tendering to you the grateful homage of my heart. There is no other offering that I can bring you; there is nothing else worthy of the generous manner in which you have received me, and in which you have been pleased to over-estimate my poor efforts. It is because circumstances and accidents beyond my control have brought my name into conspicuous connection with sentiments dear to your own hearts, that you have spoken so kindly towards me, and I thank you for it; and if in anything I have been enabled to stand up where some men feared a little—I have been able, in my good degree, to maintain the integrity and consistency of my position, it is because I felt that, in the hearts of my sympathizing friends, there were feelings that I should wound infinitely more than mine could possibly be wounded, if I faltered or fell.

Mr. Hale illustrated this point with some further eloquent remarks, observing that the representatives of the North in Congress needed the confidence that there were true men at home to fall back upon, and concluded an effective speech by again returning his hearty thanks for the honor done him. He sat down amid enthusiastic applause.

[What of room has obliged us to abridge Mr. Hale's speech.]

The second regular toast was:

The Union—Its preservation was the threat, not by yielding to the demands of those who ensured dissolution at every check to their schemes, but by adhering to those principles of justice and liberty which it was ordained and established to maintain.

Band—Star-spangled Banner.

In a few complimentary remarks, the President called on Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, of Boston, who responded at length in an eloquent speech. He gave:

Our Cause—It needs and expects every man to do his duty.

CASSIUS M. CLAY, of Kentucky, was welcomed with loud applause when introduced by the President. He said this was the first time that he had ever stood in avowed alliance with an anti-slavery party in these States. This was an occasion that transcended all personal interests, and that to the fact that he came a friend freedom from a slave State, he attributed the warmth of his reception.

Deeming it right that the great leader of this cause should be received by the welcome of all

parts of the Union, he had come up here to take part in the scenes. The question to be decided was not whether the North or the South should be free, but whether the whole nation would be free men or slaves. Three hundred thousand slaveholders at the South not only ruled ten times their number of slaves, but controlled the white freemen of the whole Union. In speaking of the charge that he was a defamer of Henry Clay, he argued that his ambition would have prompted him to stand by the side of the man he loved justice more than ambition, and followed a higher leader.

Mr. Clay then went into a defence of his own course, in reply to charges which had been made against him; and in conclusion entered upon a political and critical assertion of the principles of the party and their application.

The One Idea of the Free Democratic Party—To prevent a hemisphere from lapsing into barbarism.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, of Quincy, was next presented, and made a short but very effective speech.

The President then read the toast:

The Memory of the Hallowed Confessors of the 17th century and of their revolutionary representatives, Boston, Blandin, Laurens, Jay.

JOHN JAY, of New York, was called on to respond, and referred in high terms to the course Mr. Hale had pursued, of the result of which we had no reason to doubt, but whose words and actions were full of encouragement for the cause. In the success which had attended him were bright omens for the future. Thoughtful men of both parties had already acknowledged that in the principles of the Free Soil party was embodied the true American idea, which was to Christianize and liberalize the world.

The Citizens of Marshfield—We recognize in the opinions of their choice the true exponent of the Constitution.

Mr. CLAY offered the following toast:

The True Union—To Benton, to Bryant, to Seward, to Greeley, to Garrison, to Phillips, to Quincy—the union of all the opponents of the propaganda of slavery.

Mr. GARRISON, on being loudly called for, rose in the centre of the hall, and was received with three cheers for the pioneer, which were enthusiastically given. He said:

Ladies and Gentlemen—I am happy to be with you on this occasion. Whatever may be our peculiar views as to the best means to be adopted or the precise position to be occupied, one thing is true here—we are all 'Hale fellows,' [enthusiastic applause]; and what is better still, 'Hale fellows' will meet. [Continued cheers.] It is not often that anti-slavery men are in a majority. [Applause.] I believe we have it all our own way here this evening. It is not possible that there can be a single pro-slavery man or woman in this vast assembly; and I will prove it. Allow me to put it to vote. As many here as are in favor of the immediate and everlasting overthrow of slavery, will please to say 'Aye!' [An almost universal shout of affirmation went up.] As many as are opposed to the abolition of slavery, will say 'No.' [A few voices replied 'No!'] 'No!' evidently from a misconception of the speaker's remarks. Sir, it is as I thought it would be—the Ayes have it! [Cheers and laughter.] And I hold that those who answered in the negative are bound, by their own rule of action, to come over to our side, and make the vote unanimous; for pro-slavery in our country always is looking to majority to be on the popular side. [Laughter and cheers.]

Our lion-hearted friend from Kentucky said that he had been called an infidel. Why, here he touched me 'on the raw':—

'A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.'

I have also fallen under the same ban, and for the same reason. An infidel! Well, now, let me go to the good book—it shall be some evidence of my veneration for Christianity. In that book I find this injunction—Credit to whom credit, honor to whom honor is due—and I am here with you, to-day, to carry out that precept, in regard to the anti-slavery cause. Let me say, that I have never whom credit, honor to whom honor; and how much credit and how much honor are due to him, you know, and the country and Christendom know. We are here to give him our heart's best aspirations, and to thank him for all that he has done, and nobly done, in his place in the United States Senate. Let us remember that he never yet has renounced his position, and that he has never hesitated to measure weapons with the strongest and proudest defenders of slavery; and that he has met John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster, and never has been defeated or disgraced, but has come off, in the unbiased judgment of the whole country, in every encounter victorious. [Loud cheers.]

There are those in this community, I am sorry to say, who think we ought not to be here to-day; they think we ought not to be eating our dinner. [Laughter.] The deep complacency, the stern sense of propriety, the warm-hearted philanthropy of the Boston Courier has been deeply moved. [Renewed laughter.] It has suggested to me the thought of going without our dinner and paying the proceeds to emancipate some half-dozen slaves which that paper has advertised for sale! [Great laughter and cheers.] Sir, our opponents are very hard to please. Strike where we will, we do not strike to their liking. If we do practice self-denial, and do that, then they accuse us of being ascetics and fanatics; and if we have fun, and we have not got the slave! Well, sir, John came neither eating bread nor drinking wine, and they said, 'He hath a devil.' The Son of Man came both eating and drinking, and they said, 'Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber.' [Loud cheers.] So, in the ancient time, exalted the chief priests, the scribes, and the Pharisees, and their successors are saying the very same of us at this time, the same spirit. [Cheers.] Of the former, Jesus said, 'Ye are of your father the devil—hypocrites—a generation of vipers.' All that we need do is to leave the latter in the same category, and to the same unerring judgment.

Sir, this is no idle coming together. It is not an empty show, it is a gathering of the best of our day. We have come here to render a testimonial that shall be seen and felt throughout this country, and the echo of which shall go across the broad Atlantic, giving joy to the friends of equal liberty throughout Europe. So far from misapplying my means in a festival like this, I regard it as a wise measure for the cause of the slave. I have listened to this august assembly, and I listened to the stirring sentiments that have been uttered against the great sin of our country, my heart has leaped to think how many burdens will be removed and captives set free, by this mighty magnetic demonstration.

I have recently been to the great West, as far as Chicago; and I am convinced that the friends of the slave there to say to the friends of freedom in the East, that at the West, there is not a despairing heart to be found. [Loud cheers.] They have commissioned me to say, that they have taken hold, and they mean to hold on, and never to give up, until this system of slavery is exterminated from the land. [Renewed cheers.] Everywhere, the signs of the times are propitious. We have reason greatly to be encouraged. In proof of this, I have a letter from one whose name will be heard with delight by this great assembly—a man who has stood up in his place in Congress strong for the cause of the slave—JOSUEA K. GIBBINS. [Enthusiastic cheering.] In this letter, dated Washington, Feb. 8th, addressed to my esteemed friend, JOSEPH A. DECADE, of Pennsylvania, who is now present by my side, (cheers.) Mr. Gibbins makes this cheering announcement:

'I am pleased to say that, from all the indications within my view, I regard our work of reform, in respect to slavery, much further advanced than we have generally expected. In every quarter, I can see a change in the public opinion; and in no place is the change more apparent than in this Hall and in the Senate. The tone and feeling is softening greatly, and most Southern members now admit that Slavery never can be extended. They find themselves contending against a moral feeling, of which they had but little conception.' [Loud cheering.]

So much for the signs of the times at the West, at the seat of government, and in other parts of the country. Sir, in Cincinnati, I cast my eyes across the Ohio river into Kentucky, and, for the first time, saw Kentucky clay. To-day, I have not only seen, but felt, Kentucky Clay—the CLAY of Kentucky. [Enthusiastic cheering.] I have learned that Southern States were like to be, we should be here, celebrating the jubilee, instead of only measuring a stride onward in the grand march toward the goal of universal emancipation. [Loud applause.]

The 'dying away' of the Anti-Slavery cause! In spite of the lying declarations of its enemies, it has never presented so hale an appearance as it does at the present time; and can never die, because it is immortal. Addresses were subsequently made by Mr. Hale, D. P. THOMPSON, of Vermont, Vt., Rodney French, &c., and letters were read from various gentlemen, expressing inability to be present, and earnest wishes for the success of the cause. Among these were those from Giddings and Chase. At 9 o'clock the company separated, with cheers.

Well, sir, though we are here in a majority in this hall, in our country we are yet in a minority. There is a mighty work to be done. Three million two hundred thousand slaves are yet waiting for their deliverance; eighty thousand new victims are added to the capital stock every year; one additional slave is brought into being every eight minutes; and the Slave Power rules, with absolute sway, the religion and the politics of the whole land.

So you will pardon me for the reference. I have heard something here about our Union, about the value of the Union, and the importance of preserving the Union. Gentlemen, if you have been so fortunate as to find a Union worth preserving, I heartily congratulate you. Cling to it with all your souls! For myself, I have not been so fortunate. With a price set upon my head by one of the Southern States of the Union—outlawed everywhere in the slaveholding South for my hatred of slavery—you will pardon me if I am somewhat lacking in loyalty to the existing Union. [Laughter.]

The Union! What is it? Where is it? Where, as the compromising friends of liberty will say, and protection under it? Gentlemen, look well at your language; use it intelligently and truly. The two great pro-slavery parties in the land join you in glorifying this Union, and pledging to maintain it as a slavery-sustaining compact. If you use the term 'Union' in the ordinary political sense, then I ask how it happens that you who are pledged to give support to slavery are thus in perfect agreement with those parties? If you do not, then, I ask, where is the Union, and what do you mean by preserving it? Why are you not conscious of the fact, that in South Carolina, in Alabama, in any slaveholding State, this anti-slavery gathering would not be tolerated? We should all be deemed worthy of Lynch law, and in all probability be subjected to a cost of fat and flesh! What a glorious Union it is that we are enjoying! How worthy of preservation!

Alas! the 'Union' is but another name for the iron reign of the Slave Power. We have no common country, as yet. God grant we may have! We have no common Union, as yet. God grant we may have! We shall have when the jubilee comes, and not till then. But now we are struggling against the overwhelming public sentiment of our country; we are small, numerically. O God, is it not a burning shame that there is not an inch of soil in all this land, whereon we can dare protest a fugitive slave? That the slave must skulk away, in sight of Bonaparte Hill and Faneuil Hall, that we must hide him by day, and get him out of the country by night! This must no longer be! Let us up then, to our work, with new zeal and courage. In the language of one of the great poets of our cause:

'Gray Plymouth Rock hath yet a tongue, and Concord is not dumb,
And voices from our fathers' graves, and from the future, come;
They tell us to stand our ground—they charge us still to be free!'

(Great cheering.)

The fifth regular toast was—

The Seneca of the American Story—While they gratefully remember those who emancipated them from the torture and ignominy of the lash, let them not forget those who still remain under its thralldom.

HORACE MANN responded in remarks concerning the noble qualities of sailors, and the modes of punishment which has been applied to them, passing in review the punishment of slaves. The part Mr. Hale had taken in the abolition of flogging in the navy was alluded to.

The next regular toast was—

The Future of the Free Democracy—In God's own might we grail us for the coming fight.

We grasp the weapons he has given,
The Light, and Truth, and Love of Heaven.

HENRY WILSON, of Natick was called on, and speaking of the words which were rung in the ears of Kossuth at Worcester, 'We worship not the man so much as the principle,' applied them to Mr. Hale, and asserted that all good men would regret the retirement from the Senate of that true liberal and true democrat. Under the Constitution and the Union the Free Democracy would fight on forever till it had obliterated slavery from the soil of that Union. The future prospects of the party were asserted to be good, and such as would give the memory of the opponents of liberty to the punishment of scrutinizing posterity. Mr. Wilson concluded with the toast—

Solomon P. Chase—The Free Democracy of New England recognize him as a worthy compeer of their own trusted leader, JOHN P. HALE.

In response to a toast, ANNE TRACY, of Exeter, N. H., spoke of the contest in New Hampshire which Free Soilism had waged. He counted it as one of the laurels of New Hampshire that she put Mr. Hale in the Senate, and sustained him there at a period when no other State could have done it. The feelings with which Mr. Hale was regarded proved a subject of remark among others.

The next regular toast was as follows:

The Liberty Party—Not dead, but translated.

JOSUEA LEVITT, of New York, referred to his first knowledge of Mr. Hale, in Congress, in the House, and he marked him then as a Democrat who understood the true principles of Democracy. His subsequent life was approvingly sketched.

The Ministers of the Christian Religion—Appointed to be the champions of that great anti-slavery commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'

Rev. Mr. PRATT spoke of the preaching of Rev. John Parkman, of Lowell, under whose auspices Mr. H. had sat. The charge of one idealism was referred to as a proud attribute of the party, which no other had, and that was—Every right to every man.

Woman—Warm in sympathy and generous in action; left to her natural impulses, she can never forget the cause of the slave. [Music.]

The President made a few remarks complimentary to Mrs. Stone, which he followed by

The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin—The key that shall yet unlock the prison house, and let the captive go free.

Mr. PALFREY here placed on the table twenty-six volumes, containing 571,362 signatures, to an address from the women of England to the women of America.

The Unhealthy Organization—Where is the quarantine that shall stop the spread of its infection?

Mr. KEYES, of Dedham, responded.

The late Robert Randall, Jr.—A champion fallen in the thick of the fight. So long as the great struggle of the 19th century, for freedom and the right, is remembered in Massachusetts, his name will be honored in the annals of her people.

HON. ANSON BURLINGAME responded.

The Buffalo Convention—An epoch in the history of universal liberty.

RICHARD DANA, Jr., of Cambridge, was called upon, and responded to the toast with reference to the history of the Free Soil party, and expressed his adherence to the Union and the Constitution. He concluded with

The Buffalo Platform—In 1848, axioms; in 1850, treason.

Mr. GARRISON rose and said—Mr. President, I hold in my hand a resolution, which I mean to have offered at the close of my remarks. By your permission I will do so now. You know, sir, that, for some years, the cry of the enemies of the anti-slavery cause was, 'Abolitionism is dying away.'—until the passage of the Baltimore 'finality' last spring, when it was officially announced that it had fallen to the earth, 'stone dead.' So, then, I find myself, on this occasion, surrounded by the skeletons of defunct abolitionists! [Great laughter.] Now, sir, the old inquiry arises, 'Can these dry bones live?' [Renewed merriment.] Live! Bones! Dry bones! Why, sir, if there be one who possesses a 'healthy organization,' bodily and mentally, it is the honored guest by your side; and there are at least a few more of the same sort left. [Cheers.] I propose the following sentiment—

The 'dying away' of the Anti-Slavery cause! In spite of the lying declarations of its enemies, it has never presented so hale an appearance as it does at the present time; and can never die, because it is immortal.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, MAY 13, 1853.

NEW ENGLAND.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Annual Meeting of this Convention will be held in Boston, in the Molendons, on WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 25th and 26th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. Of all the anti-slavery gatherings in this country, numerous and spirited as many of them are, none excite so much interest or bring such numbers together as this conventional body. The widest and most cordial invitation to be present, and participate in its proceedings, is given to anti-slavery men and women, in whatever position they may stand; and to all manly opponents of the cause of emancipation, a free platform will be offered on that occasion, as it has ever been—for liberty never yet had cause to dread the light, or to shrink from an open encounter with slavery. It has been deemed advisable to occupy but two instead of three days, as heretofore; but it is intended to make the opening session not merely preliminary, but as spirited in the way of discussion as practicable. A prompt attendance, therefore, is requested, that every hour may be profitably employed in the slave's behalf.

By order of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts A. S. Society,

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

R. F. WALLCUT, Secretary.

REPLY OF HON. HORACE MANN TO WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

WEST NEWTON, May 9th, 1853.

DEAR SIR,—In a brief editorial, (which had nearly escaped my notice,) you announce the receipt of a letter from Mr. Phillips, intimating 'his intention of making no further replication to any thing Mr. Mann may write.' On looking back, (after reading your announcement,) to the closing paragraphs of his last letter, it becomes self-evident, that he had intended it to be his last, but left you to say so, that he might escape from the controversy he had provoked with me, without the decencies of a parting salutation. What a striking contrast between the imperious front with which he strode forward to attack me, and this surreptitious retirement!

As Mr. Phillips has now, formally, (though by proxy,) withdrawn from the arena he so proudly entered, I shall reply to his last letter with more forbearance than it would otherwise merit merely justify, but demand. Indeed, I will endeavor to say nothing to which any judicious friend of his could desire him to reply, even if he were not under his present two-fold disability.

In looking back to the charges against me, made in his speech of January last, and comparing them with his last letter, I believe there is not a trace of identity or similarity between the two. His accusations and imputations have been changed from one to another all the way—as one was confuted, others being substituted for it—until, long ago, the descendants not only lost all family resemblance to the ancestors, but were entirely of a different species. But I proceed to the letter.

1. Mr. Phillips denies that he represented the Blind Institution as a 'private institution.' He only said that 'the meetings and records of the Trustees were private.' Now, let me ask a simple question of any lawyer or judge: Do not the Trustees, with their meetings and records; appointing Directors, Treasurer and other officers; enacting by-laws; prescribing rules for the admission of pupils, &c. &c.—do not these, in a legal sense, constitute the Blind Institution? They are not the pupils, nor the provisions that sustain, nor the apparatus that instructs them; but they are the administrators of all. They are, in a legal sense, the Blind Institution. So much for his charge of misrepresentation.

Now, as to his allegation about privacy, I reply that the 'meetings and records of the Trustees' are not 'private,' and never were. Four of the Trustees are appointed by the State. They represent the State at every meeting;—just as much as the House of

of
ns
of
is
e-
ed
s.
ut

S

ed
n-
he
ed
ed
nd
c-
ill
as

7,

so
pl-
u-

S,

rn
u-
ic-
re-
ole

D,
ri-
ost
he

R,

ise
the
ng

S,

hen
cern
m-
als.

S.
ind
at-
ia

by
ted

O.,

will
of
all
it-
to
so
all

c,

nd
ch
his
on-
of
a-
te
of
ce-
00
he

